AIM

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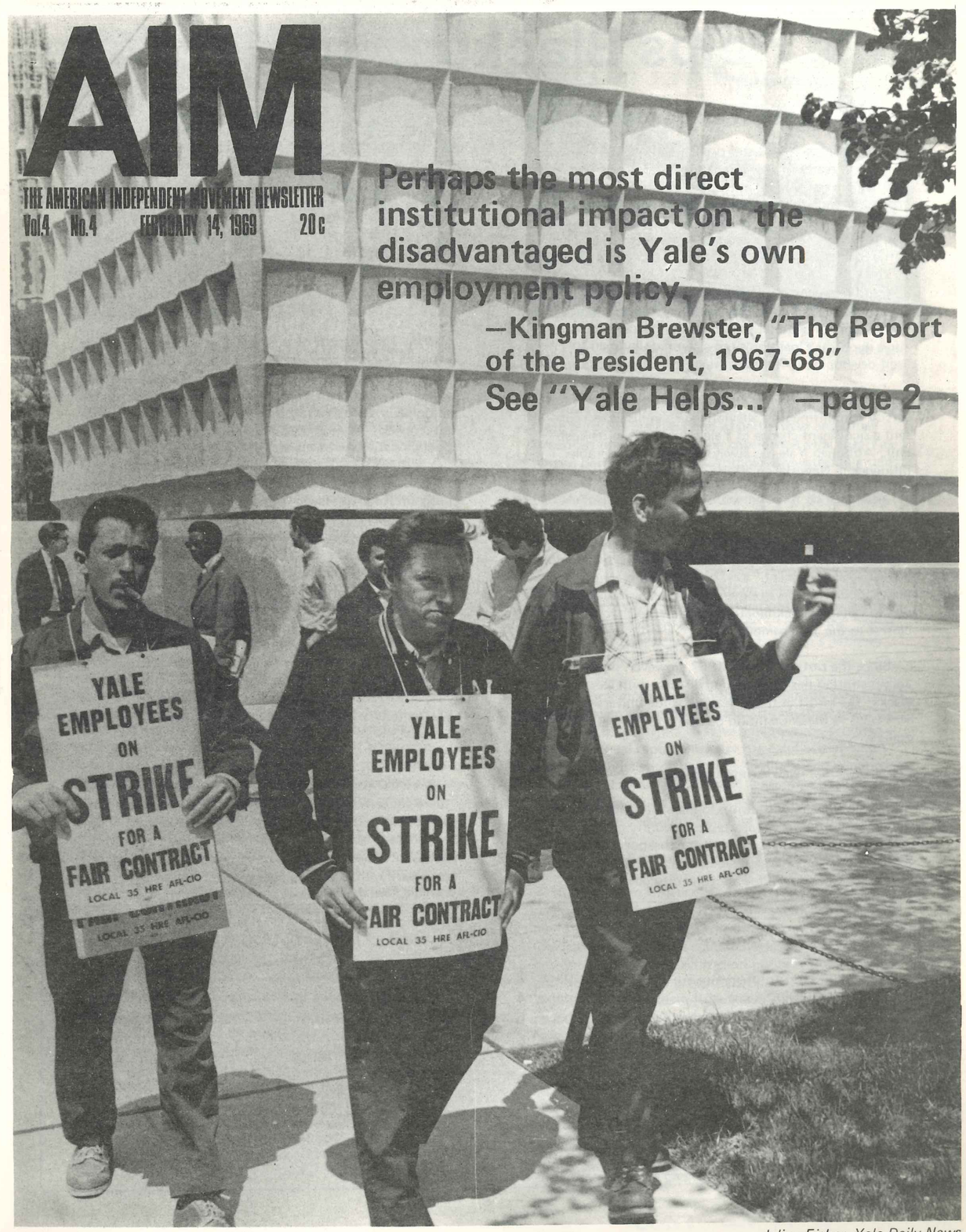
Perhaps the most direct institutional impact on the disadvantaged is Yale's own employment policy.

—Kingman Brewster, "The Report of the President, 1967-68"

See "Yale Helps..." —page 2


YALE EMPLOYEES ON STRIKE FOR A FAIR CONTRACT
LOCAL 35 HRE AFL-CIO
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Yale employees on strike, May, 1968 *Julian Fisher, Yale Daily News*

Yale Helps Blacks ... to Help Yale

by Sasha Harmon

When Kingman Brewster proclaimed last April that Yale stood ready to answer an "urgent and welcome call for the University to do more about discrimination, poverty, poor education, poor housing..." in New Haven, he also revealed the immediate form that this answer would take. "Yale," he said, "is prepared to put its faith in the Black Coalition."

Faith had been translated into financial terms by December, when Brewster's special assistant, C. Tracy Barnes, announced that the university had agreed to fund the Black Coalition's ten-million-dollar plan for "self-development" in seven New Haven neighborhoods.

This agreement, billed as the expression of a new university commitment to alleviating urban ills, does represent a significant change in Yale's approach to its host city. Although Yale has always exerted considerable influence in New Haven affairs, it has done so discreetly, often indirectly, in ways that are hard to trace.

For the past decade Yale has relied largely on the redevelopment-conscious Lee administration to deal with local problems in a way that guaranteed the university a safe, attractive environment. Yale officials, for example, publicly supported redevelopment proposals whose effect was to isolate and eliminate black slum neighborhoods closest to the Yale campus.

Since the riots of August 1967, however, the Yale administration has been dealing directly with New Haven blacks; the result of those dealings is the university's accession to Black Coalition demands for ten million dollars.

New Arbitrary Power

A Yale University decision to marshal its impressive resources in support of selected community groups is a decision which can have important consequences for thousands of New Haven residents. Yale has arrogated to itself power enough for a second city government.

However, since Yale's administration is not responsible to New Haven voters in the way that Lee's administration is responsible, Yale is not obliged to make public the details of its policies and strategy for New Haven. For this reason, it has been difficult to determine precisely how the university exerts influence in city affairs. It will be similarly difficult to determine the nature and extent of Yale's vaunted new interest in New Haven's social development; the people whose lives will be affected by that interest have a right to know as much as possible.

Presidential Propaganda

In his 1968 Report of the President, Kingman Brewster explains the new concern with Yale's usefulness to New Haven. A State-of-the-University message aimed primarily at alumni (read contributors), the president's report is an unlikely source of information on the true nature of this concern. It should not, however, be dismissed as public relations propaganda.

Brewster uses his report in part to explain a university program for New Haven to those people from whom he will probably be raising money for the program. He therefore tries to show that the new program is consistent with the vision of a great private university presented in previous presidential reports.

In doing so, he reviews the various contradictory assumptions and priorities which determine Yale's relationship to the surrounding community. When examined in light of the facts of Yale's conduct in New Haven, Brewster's statements are certainly informative. They make clear the necessarily equivocal nature of Yale's commitment to community self-development.

Brewster's Version

Brewster begins by describing the university as a sanctuary for self-determined scholars. This traditional concept of a university's function is being challenged, he says, by people in business, government and local communities who want Yale to help solve their problems. He claims, temporarily, that the dilemma can be resolved with the formula "We are our brother's thinker."

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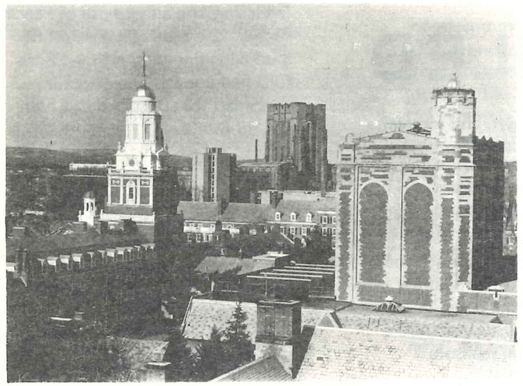


Yale buildings dominate the skyline of New Haven

This "slum block" may be torn down for a Yale Parking Garage

He quickly admits, however, that Yale cannot resist the temptation to contribute leadership to the fight for urban progress; nor can it overlook a certain institutional interest in keeping surrounding neighborhoods healthy. Brewster goes on, in fact, to brag about the contributions Yale has already made in New Haven: grants to the Black Coalition, services offered by the professional schools, and university employment policies.

On the heels of this boast, Brewster contends that Yale has been and must remain politically neutral by resisting mobilization for extraneous causes. But he then suggests four ways in which the university can increase its contribution in New Haven: through new research programs, through Yale-affiliated individuals who participate in city affairs, by raising money for community groups, and by sponsoring or staffing civic organizations.

Throughout Brewster's report, which also includes sections on Yale's governance and its student body, run three other themes that are not only central to Brewster's thought but basic to any discussion of the American university: 1) The University must compete with other universities for money that comes primarily from large corporations, foundations and government. 2) The university needs the money in order to create conditions attractive to the best possible faculty and students. 3) A competitive university has institutional needs and interests only occasionally coincident with the needs of its nearest neighbors.

A National Institution

Kingman Brewster has very definite ideas about the purposes of the university over which he presides. He implies that these ideas—shared by other Yale administrators and supporters—figure prominently in every Corporation policy decision. As revealed in this and earlier presidential reports, Yale's purposes are three: 1) to attract and provide for a community of scholars who are free to pursue knowledge wherever and however they determine; 2) to protect and preserve Western Civilization; 3) to train tomorrow's leaders.

Brewster clearly believes that Yale has not only achieved these purposes but has done so better than any other American university. And he considers it vital that Yale remain better than others. Nothing, Brewster maintains, would be "as costly to the country as would be the decline of Yale into second-rate quality in any of its functions." (1967 Report)

Because he conceives of Yale as a truly national—even international—institution, Brewster is not modest about describing Yale's role in protecting "the continuity of civilization among the advanced nations." "The whole system of free academic enterprise...," he claims, "relies greatly upon Yale's quality...and upon Yale's national leadership."

Far more important than the contribution Yale makes in New Haven, therefore, is its contribution of national leadership in the effort to solve a nationwide problem. In every annual report Brewster has emphasized Yale's need to train its students in the "political and administrative skills" that will assure them "executive positions of public responsibility." Yale is jealous of its ability to supply candidates for the highest positions in the nation.

Bastion of Capitalist Civilization

In short, Yale University competes to become the chosen sanctuary for America's best scholars in order that they may train those men who will preserve and extend Western Civilization. Brewster's statements leave little doubt that for him Western Civilization not only encompasses but is defined by the present economic and political system. As university president, Brewster is particularly aware and proud of Yale's role in the economy. Higher education, he observes, "is an investment for the society as well as for the individual, an investment which in a very tangible sense pays off in terms of national security and of ecomomic growth, as well as in terms of individual earning power. Education has become good business." And "education has become good politics."

Brewster's predecessor, A. Whitney Griswold, in 1954 cited three possible goals of education—spiritual fulfill-

CONT. ON P. 16

RESISTER MAULED

by George Johnson

Tom Bassford, a Resister from Norwalk, suffered a black eye and a bloody nose as a result of his efforts to distribute anti-war literature at the New Haven induction station recently. Bassford, whose CO claim has never been decided by his local board, appeared in answer to a notice instructing him to report for induction. He decided to leaflet his fellow inductees with anti-draft literature and then refuse induction.

Upon arrival at the Induction Center, Bassford and a friend started leafleting the other inductees. This unsettled the officials at the center, who called him aside and warned that interference with the induction process was a federal crime carrying a five year sentence. Bassford felt that leafleting was hardly interfering, but having passed out most of his supply anyway, he decided against continuing.

While the mental test was being given, Bassford again interfered with the induction process by sitting a few seats away from his assigned seat, ruining the neat pattern the center officials were used to.

During the test, center officials alleged that Bassford failed to stick to his knitting but instead stuck up some Peace stickers on a pillar and a desk next to his test seat. This apparently precipitated the crisis.

Bassford Downed

At the end of the test, Bassford was told to stay behind. After the others had filed out, two burly soldiers confronted him and told him to take the stickers off the wall. Bassford refused. That was too much: the military, confronted with a problem, solved it in classic military fashion. One of the officials hit him in the nose, knocking him to the floor, where he hit him again. He lay there briefly, bleeding from the nose, then they repeated their order. Dazed, Bassford decided that might makes right, and scraped off a couple of the stickers.

This mollified the soldiers, who then got some medical help for Bassford and wiped up the pool of blood on the floor. By this time, the area swarmed with army brass, who were upset by the break in the approved routine and by the blood, in about equal measure.

After cooling the situation, the officials sent Bassford through the rest of the established procedure. As it turned out, he was eventually found to have a physical problem and told to come back in 30 days. He left and notified the Draft Action Group.

A day or so later, the Army notified him that there would be an inquiry into the incident to see whether the soldier who hit him should be disciplined. Accompanied by his wife, he returned to the induction center for the hearing.

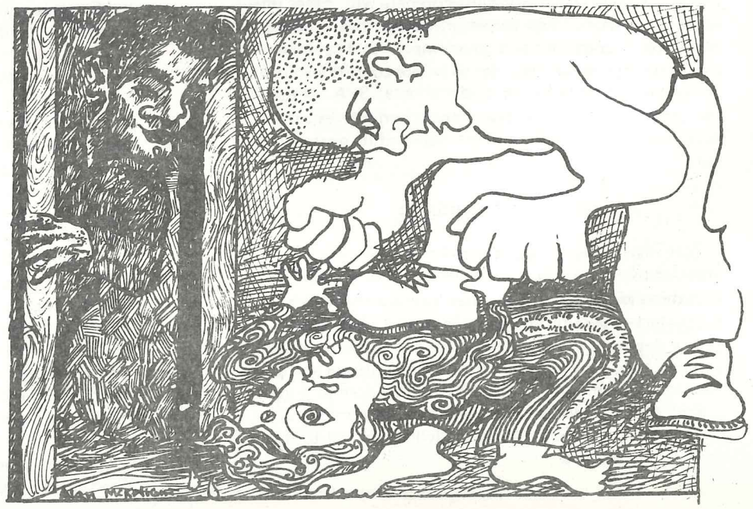
The Military Hearing

Several witnesses appeared, all military people except Bassford. All witnesses testified that Bassford had interfered with the induction process. Under questioning, it became clear that the alleged disruption consisted only of the leafleting, the alleged use of Peace stickers and a certain amount of loud coughing they claimed Bassford had done. (Their doctor conceded that Bassford had had the flu that day).

Conflicting versions of what happened during the assault developed. All sides agreed that Bassford was told to remove the stickers. The army claimed that Bassford had struck at one of the soldiers, SP/5 Lopez, who then only protected himself. Bassford maintained that he was hit, period.

The Army's version contains a few inconsistencies that make it a little difficult to believe. For one, SP/5 Lopez, is six-one, ~~wiegh~~s about 195, and lifts weights. (Bassford, at 5'-7", goes about 123 soaking wet). For another, bother sides agree that when the flare-up occurred, Bassford was seated on the front of a desk, facing Lopez, who stood about a foot away. And even Lopez claims that Bassford never actually *hit* him. Lopez' story is that he saw Bassford's blow coming, blocked it, and defended himself with a couple of well-placed jabs—all within that space of one foot.

Even the inquiry officer found this hard to swallow. He was also upset when it became clear in Lopez' own testimony that once Bassford had been knocked to the floor, bleeding at the nose, the soldier's sole action was to force him to clean off the Peace stickers.



The Violent System

Bassford testified last (except for Lopez.) He pointed out at the start that he did not bear any personal animosity toward Lopez. Instead, he viewed the incident as a perfect example of the reason why he felt that he was a CO. Before the incident, neither man knew or had ever seen the other. Both were following orders which neither had the slightest part in formulating—from a small disagreement came violence. Bassford went on to point out that this insignificant incident, writ large, typifies international relations; and thus, he felt, makes it impossible for a person to follow military orders conscientiously.

In the situation, especially since all the military personell had been expecting the worst from Bassford, the effect was startling. The atmosphere became noticeably looser and more relaxed. The focus of the remaining inquiry seemed to shift from protecting Lopez to examining just why the incident took place (for example, it was only after Bassford's statement that the hearing officer showed an interest in Lopez' actions while Bassford was on the floor bleeding). At the end of the hearing, Bassford stated for the record, on behalf of himself and the Draft Action Group, that "We're not against the soldiers, we're against the war." On this note, the hearing ended.

Movement Strategy

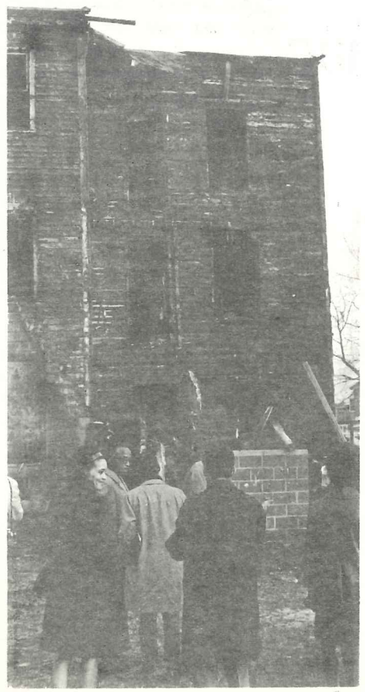
Hopefully, everyone learned from the incident and its aftermath. From an anti-war point of view, it is clear that eventual success in overthrowing military control will depend at least in part on a refusal by significant portions of the soldiers to fight against the American people when push comes to shove. Admittedly, that day is a long way off (note, however, the Fort Hood 43—black GI's who risked the stockade rather than fight us in Chicage—as well as other less well-known examples). However, our tactics at this point should be designed to hasten, not retard, that day.

If this view is correct, then it calls into question tactics which by their nature, alienate or affect negatively the very soldiers who must eventually be our allies. Leafleting, or any other tactic, is probably better done in a manner and in language which doesn't provoke hostility in the audience we must eventually win—which for a long time is going to be anti-student and anti-hippie, pro-authority and pretty conventionally moral.

Bassford's decision to take the heat off the soldier and put it on the system, which he came to after serious thought, once the initial outrage wore off, represents a step in the right direction.

HNC Saves 7 of 11 Houses

One of four buildings that will be torn down. Seven others will be rehabilited under the agreement.



People who demonstrated on January 20 against the Redevelopment Agency's attempt to destroy eleven buildings in Hill Central were aware that they had already won an unusual victory over the City government. The previous day a temporary injunction had been issued in Superior Court prohibiting the Redevelopment Agency from proceeding with demolition.

On Thursday, January 23, hearings began on a request for permanent injunction brought by the Hill Neighborhood Corporation, Cassie Pervis, and Angel Tirado against the City of New Haven, the New Haven Redevelopment Agency, Fire Marshal Thomas Lyden and Charles Shannon, Executive Director of the Redevelopment Agency. The suit, which had been prepared by HNC attorney Roger Koontz with the help of Ken Kreiling and William Goodrich of New Haven Legal Assistance, called also for rehabilitation of the same houses.

HNC's complaint presented four basic arguments: 1) that the Agency was violating a previous agreement by destroying the buildings; 2) that the Fire Marshal's order to the Redevelopment Agency requiring demolition was of questionable legality; 3) that there is not enough housing in Hill Central; and 4) that final plans for urban renewal in the Hill have not been made and it may therefore be decided that the buildings in question should be saved.

Only alluded to in the complaint was the fact that the Redevelopment agency, which owns the properties named, has allowed them to deteriorate so much that it will not be profitable to rehabilitate them.

HNC has argued for months that once a building is vacated its life expectancy is severely shortened. If it is left unguarded, windows are broken, plumbing and heating stripped, furnaces removed. A

week of such vandalism can leave the interior of the building in shambles.

The buildings at 252 and 254 Putnam Street, which the Hill Project had agreed to rehabilitate in September and which the Fire Marshal had later ordered destroyed against HNC's wishes, were badly burned shortly after orders for demolition were issued. This fire, according to police, was of "suspicious origin."

Approximately ten other vacant buildings in Hill Central have been destroyed by fires of suspicious origin in the past eight months. No arrests have been made. Since September, HNC has been urging that guards be placed at buildings from the time they are vacated for rehabilitation until the first family is moved in.

Testimony during the hearing on January 23 revealed HNC's case to be a strong one. Present were two attorneys for HNC, four attorneys for the City (including a trial lawyer brought in especially for this case, at $45 per hour), much of the Redevelopment staff, and members of the HNC and HPA.

In the morning the judge, granting a motion by the City, adjourned the court so that he could personally examine the buildings in question. He then took to the streets, leading a parade through most of the vacant buildings. This unusual move gained the immediate respect of neighborhood people.

Back in the courtroom, the court heard testimony from several Hill residents on the difficulty of housing a large family in the Hill. Star witness of the afternoon was Sal Ruotolo, member of the Board of Directors of HNC, professional contractor, and rehabilitation specialist. He talked about the structural condition and probable costs of rehabilitation for the eleven buildings. His testimony was sometimes humorous, always sound, even under intense cross-examination.

Over the weekend, the judge involved was hospitalized. HNC therefore agreed to begin negotiations with the Redevelopment Agency for an out-of-court settlement.

Negotiations took place the following Wednesday, January 29, at Shannon's office. HNC was represented by Attorney Koontz, three staff members and a neighborhood priest whose parish includes Hill Central. The City team members were Shannon, Mike Catania (second in the Agency hierarchy), Eugene Sosnoff, General Counsel for the Agency, Attorney Phil Holt, a Hartford lawyer, and John Daniels, head of the Hill Project office.

HNC came to this bargaining session with greater advantage than it had had in any previous dealings with the City. The City faced the possibility of losing an important court case, with all the unfavorable publicity that implies.

The settlement finally reached saved seven of the eleven buildings. Of those, six are to be rehabilitated and one left in its present condition until HNC submits plans for its use by a community group. The other four buildings will be demolished. Guard service will be kept on the buildings while they are vacant to insure that no further damage is done.

people's almanac

"The People's Almanac" is compiled by Liberation News Service each month. The Newsletter hopes to print it, along with other features dealing with radical history, each issue. Contributions are welcome.

FEBRUARY 15-28

15—1820: Susan B. Anthony, organizer of woman suffrage, born.

16—1926: Beginning of 17 week general strike of 12,000 New York Jewish furriers, forming coalition with Greek and Negro workers, becoming the first union to win a five-day 40-hour week.

16—1959: Fidel Castro becomes premier of Cuba.

18—1964: Secretary McNamara testifies that the bulk of U.S. forces in Vietnam can be expected to leave by 1965.

21—1965: Malcolm X is assassinated.

22—1892: U.S. Populist Party organized in St. Louis.

23—1787: Birthday of Emma Willard, founder of Troy Female Seminary, first successful attempt to broaden girls' education and teach them mathematics, history, geography and science.

23—1868: W.E.B. Du Bois born.

24—1895: Marti lands in Cuba, beginning of war for independence from Spain.

25—1913: 27,000 silk workers of Paterson, N.J. strike against speed-up.

25—1946: Negro Community of Columbia, Tenn. prevents lynching of a Negro war veteran and his mother. Negro community is surrounded and its business section is destroyed and looted. Resulting charges against Negro citizens of attempt to murder, results in eventual acquittal.

27—1861: Warsaw Massacre—Russian troops fire on crowd demonstrating against Russian rule.

27—1901: Russian minister of propaganda is murdered to avenge repression of student agitation.

AIM SALUTES TOM EMERSON

Newsletter readers know that Morton Sobell, convicted with the Rosenbergs of spying against the United States, was finally released from his long political imprisonment on January 14th. Not so well known is the crucial role played by Professor Thomas I. Emerson in gaining Sobell's release. For Morton Sobell, as for many, many others, Professor Emerson, a local resident and AIM supporter, labored unnoticed to secure his early release. We take this opportunity to applaud him.

Professor Emerson is the Country's foremost authority on the First Amendment, as well as one of the leading lights on administrative law, political and civil rights, and constitutional law generally. He has been associated with many of America's most important cases, from the Scottsboro Boys in the thirties to the Connecticut Birth Control case in 1965.

He assisted in drafting NLPB, price control, and Atomic Energy Legislation. His career also includes a long stint in Washington during the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, where he worked for a number of agencies, most notably as deputy administrator of the wartime OPA.

He is active in the Lawyer's Guild, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and the ACLU, in addition to his full teaching load at Yale. With his wife Ruth, he takes an active part in local issues: **Newsletter** readers may remember reading a transcript of his speech at the testimonial dinner for Catherine Roraback, and his TV interview a few months ago.

Court Ruling Reversed

In Sobell's case, Emerson successfully persuaded the Second Circuit Court of Appeals to reverse a lower court ruling and grant Sobell sentence credit for the time he was forced to spend in jail between his arrest for espionage and sentence because he was unable to make the $100,000 bail.

Emerson argued that denial of this credit would require Sobell to serve more than the maximum sentence for his alleged crime, and would violate due process and equal protection of the law by imposing additional imprisonment solely because of financial inability to make bail. The credit granted, plus time off the original sentence for good behavior, made the January release mandatory.

Sobell was first told of his release by a fellow prisoner. He thought someone was pulling his leg, but heard it on the radio a little later. Friends had made arrangements

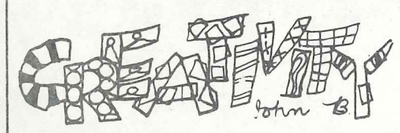
for a welcoming car to pick him up at Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary, but prison officials ushered him out the back way and took him to a bus for New York City.

The Rosenberg Legacy

With Sobell's release, the Rosenberg case passes into history. Volumes have been written and more remain to be published. For Americans interested in justice and a decent politics, it was a disaster. The calculated effect of the trial and sentence was to freeze political action on the left. America is just beginning to awaken from the big freeze.

But the danger that the government will again seek to repress change by legal prosecutions always lurks close to the surface. Recent examples such as the legal harassment of the Panthers, the GI coffeehouses, and many movement activists, as well as local figures like Fred Harris, Ronnie Johnson, and Ken Kinsler, show that our guard must always be up.

For thirty years, in good times and bad, those who needed Professor Emerson found him an unfailing source of strength and aid. Morton Sobell is only one of many: his release gives us a chance to join all the others who owe him a debt of gratitude and thanks.



Costs Less Than **CONFORMITY**

But **THE CHILDREN'S SCHOOL** is in more desperate need of financial assistance than ever before.

Please contribute what you can.
THE CHILDREN'S SCHOOL
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New Haven, Conn. 06405

ment, equal opportunity, and maximum diffusion of learning throughout society—and remarked that Yale had not done well with respect to any of them. But elitist assumptions such as Brewster's are not conducive to programs aimed at absolutely equal opportunity or maximum diffusion of learning throughout all levels of society.

So pronounced is Yale's orientation toward the existing hierarchical system that it is difficult to imagine Yale's trustees ever agreeing to programs that challenge existing concepts and systems of economic-political leadership. Financial support of the Black Coalition must have appeared to Yale Corporation not as a challenge to their leadership but as a way to prevent such a challenge.

Similarly, Yale can respond and has responded favorably to demands that it extend "equal opportunity" to groups previously excluded. It will not, however, entertain ideas that opportunity need not mean opportunity to be a leader, that it ought to mean opportunity to *be* equal.

Businesslike Administrators

If the university's purposes are realized finally in the daily activities of faculty and students, it is nonetheless the university administration which sets policies and determines directions that make realization possible. Although Brewster makes the distinction between University and university administration only to minimize its importance to academic affairs, he cannot deny its importance to questions about Yale's role in New Haven.

In a large university, Brewster explains, scarce resources must be distributed among competing faculty and projects. "Ultimately the rationing decisions have to be made by some person or relatively small group" with a disinterested overview. In addition, Yale University can attract necessary capital support only if it presents to potential contributors a decisive, responsible, businesslike face.

These conditions, by Brewster's reasoning, argue against an administration saddled with requirements that it always consult with faculty, students or community groups. "If the administrator must curb his instinct for going it alone...so too the 'victims' of decision have to take into account that administration must not be stultified in its effort to be decisive and convincing to those with whom it must deal in terms of contract or capital grant. In the selection of an architect or the ultimate approval of a design, for example, executive abdication of the ultimate responsibility for judgment on matters of taste and function would be disastrous. No architect worth his salt would accept the *vox populi* as his client."

Because Yale depends for its money on those who depend for their money on big American business, Yale Corporation must and does operate like big business, top down. Black Coalition representatives are dealing not with men selected from among Yale faculty and students but with men who come largely from the business world, men accustomed to executive power.

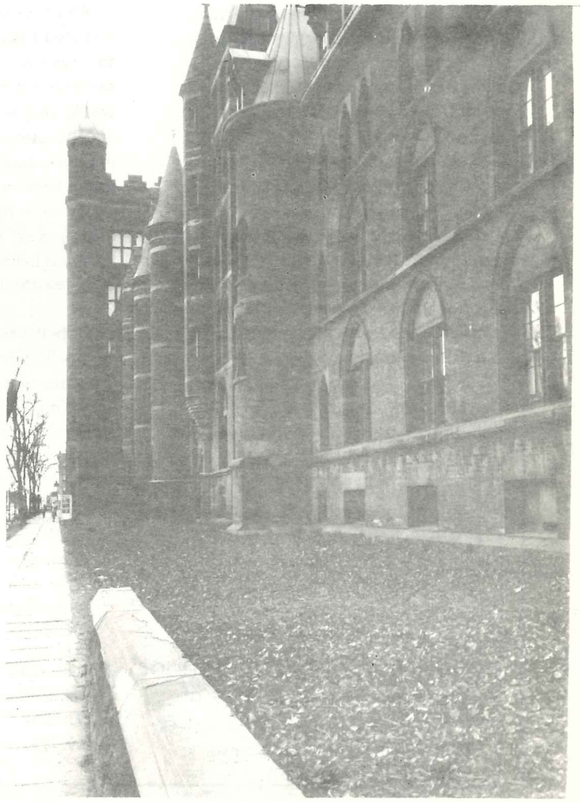
Yale's People Participate

Brewster's identification of the administration, particularly the president's officae, as that part of Yale responsible for public relation is weakened by the second distinction he makes: he argues that members of the Yale community participate in New Haven affairs as private individuals, not as representatives of the institution. Even while claiming individuals' civic involvement as part of Yale's contribution to New Haven, Brewster pretends that this distinction between private individual and university official preserves the university's "political neutrality."

Earlier in the same report, however, Brewster suggests that the line between individual and institutional interests is not clear: "While one is here, his views regarding the University should be primarily motivated by what is best for Yale, not what will help him attain some other personal, political, or ideological objective."

Several Yale officials have also held positions of importance in New Haven city government or community agencies. Too little is know about their performances about the extent to which they were "motivated by what is best for Yale." This is a subject ripe for

Buildings like this maintain Yale as a fortress in New Haven



further research.

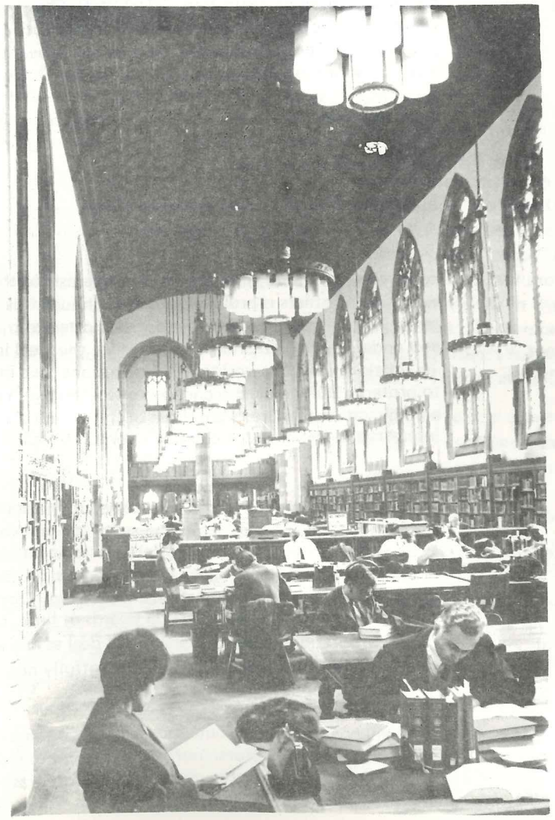
We Are Our Brother's Thinker

Today's liberal university badly needs a theory which will prescribe how it shall apply its resources to the solution of social problems. Brewster admits this and then advances a theory of his own: "We are...," he says, "best equipped to be our brother's thinker. We have no special competence to be our brother's legislator or banker or diplomat or manager."

The well-schooled heir to a sturdy Yale tradition, Brewster notes that his theory does not represent unqualified endorsement of applied studies. Nonetheless, after a ritualistic endorsement of his predecessor's determination not to create a "service station" university, Brewster observes that applied studies are becoming increasingly respectable. Therefore, consistent with the brother's-thinker theory, Yale plans to establish an Institute of Social Science which will include a Center for Urban Studies. This Center, Brewster concludes, should make Yale more useful to New Haven.

Brewster plainly has no intention, however, of limiting Yale to policies consistent with the brother's-

Sterling Library, where Yale does its brother's thinking



thinker theory. New research programs is only one of four suggestions he makes for increasing Yale's contribution to New Haven.

Also, he cannot resist pointing out ways in which Yale has already benefited the city. Then, almost as an aside and with no indication that he detects any incompatible assumption, Brewster says, "Our role in the City must not subvert the neutrality of the University."

Neutral Activist?

This assumption that the large private university is a politically neutral entity is an elusive but crucial element in the debate about university responsibility. Brewster's assertion deserves close examination for its meaning and truth.

Brewster himself offers no clarification of the term political neutrality except to suggest somewhat disdainfully that neutrality is *not* adoption of a party line. The word "neutral" is ordinarily used to mean indifferent, not taking sides in a conflict or having no particular effect. In none of these respects—even according to Brewster—is Yale politically neutral.

By its own admission, Yale is hardly without impact on New Haven. With faculty included, Yale is the second largest employer in the city; Yale owns 35% of New Haven's tax exempt real estate—5½% of the city land—and is still the fifth largest taxpayer. A university publication called **Yale in New Haven** estimates that in 1961 $43 million—much of it "new" money—was spent in New Haven simply as a result of Yale's presence here.

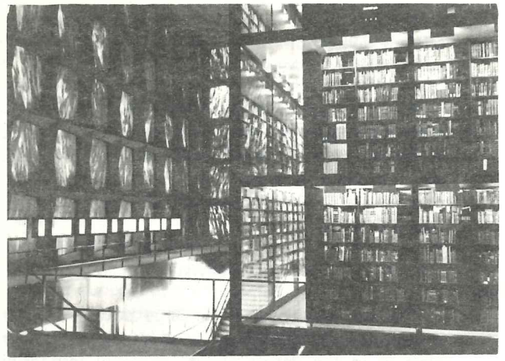
The university not only publicizes the facts of its impact on New Haven but boasts that its presence has more advantages for some groups than others. In 1962, **Yale in New Haven** observed happily that business—big business particularly—had been the special beneficiary of Yale's talent, research and facilities. (Here again the emphasis is on ability to furnish the existing system with leadership.)

Benevolent Employer

The university is now taking pains to right this imbalance, Brewster declares, through its employment policies. In a recent letter to department heads he writes, "It is very important that Yale become a more positive force for the improvement of both the fact and the feeling of economic opportunity on the part of our neighbors." By making a genuine effort to extend opportunities to those previously handicapped by race or poverty, Brewster claims, Yale is doing just that.

Although Brewster presents university employment policies as evidence that Yale is not indifferent to outside issues, the same employment policies are hardly exemplary. (See AIM Newsletter Vol. 3, No. 3, July 4, 1968.)

Even after settlement of last spring's strike, for example, Yale janitors earn less than city janitors. Women in the



Beinecke Library cost an estimated 10-30 million dollars to house 90,000 books. That comes to $10-$30,000 a book. 114 people use the library a day.

Federation of University Employees can reach at best only the fourth lowest of seventeen grades, thus earning a maximum of $2.16 per hour.

The Tax Fight

If by politically neutral Brewster means that Yale does not take sides in political fights, he has overlooked the current debate about Yale's tax exempt status. Yale now owns $95 million in tax free real estate; if that land were taxed at the 1966 rate, Yale would owe the city $4.8 million.

Aware thet every piece of land acquired by Yale automatically goes off city tax rolls, some aldermen recently introduced a proposal which would require that the aldermen approve every new transfer of land from taxable to non-taxable ownership. At a public hearing on this proposal, Yale's lawyers argued against it, then pleaded for special consideration because of Yale's contribution to the community.

At a time when land use is becoming a frequent point of political controversy, a landowner the size of Yale is not a neutral entity. The aldermanic proposal is an attempt to devise a way that Yale can be required to make responsible use of land. As a **Yale Daily News** reporter wrote, "There is considerable feeling among some members of the Board of Aldermen that Yale often buys property and builds on it with regard only to its own interest, to the detriment of the interests of the City of New Haven." (Nov. 20, Jim Kaplan)

In the land-tax dispute, then, Yale has admittedly taken a position in defense of institutional privilege. Yale officials are moreover willing to seek allies in the fight, to negotiate the issue with Lee's administration, and otherwise conduct themselves as anything but representatives of a neutral institution.

Self-Interest Above All

The university as an institution free from motives of power and profit: this is the myth Brewster apparently seeks to perpetuate by describing Yale as politically neutral. Private ownership of the university, he argues, is in the public interest. Yet its tax and land policies alone show Yale to be jealous of its power and money.

Brewster himself mentions several ways in which Yale acknowledges and protects its own, rather than public, interests. "There is no denying," he says, "a certain institutional self-interest of any urban university in the protection of its privileged existence from the threats inherent in urban decay."

In the phrase "institutional self-interest" lies the real definition of Brewster's term "political neutrality." Neutrality is the freedom to pursue Yale's interest without undue pressure from non-university sources, the freedom to influence without being influenced. "Yale as institution cannot let itself be 'mobilized' for any cause, no matter how mobile, or for the achievement of a social objective extraneous to its purposes, no matter how worthy."

Here, too, is the key to Yale's new look in urban affairs, to the new concern with New Haven's social health: self-interest. Indications are plentiful that Yale began dealing with the blacks only because riots and ineradicable slums threatened to reduce Yale's ability to attract money and faculty.

"The message of the Kerner Report," Brewster said in April, "applies to Yale just as it does to any other American citizen or institution." The Black Coalition was selected for support because it offered "constructive proposals" to forestall violence. It does not appear that Yale Corporation's answer to the "call for the University to do more" goes much beyond immediate response to black demands. The question raised by Alderman Ambrogio in December—what about poor white neighborhoods?—goes unanswered.

Defense of Status Quo

Indicting Yale for pursuing its own interests to the exclusion of others is probably unfair (although it is tempting to argue that an institution dedicated to truth and understanding ought also to strive for the ideal in all its relations with the world). All institutions have interests to protect. But we must recognize to what extent Yale administration's interests are those of this country's interests and those of this country's corporate rich.

Dedicated to supplying the present economic-political structure with leadership, Yale University can and will open new channels to leadership for selected members of previously excluded groups; it cannot consider changing the entire basis of local and national leadership. Directed by men who also sit as directors on boards of huge, profitable corporations, Yale University will deal as manager to client with the people living most resentfully near its opulent campus.

It will not consider democratic participation in a collective problem-solving effort; nor will it consent to radical redistribution of the profits made in those corporations.

As long as Yale reinforces and remains dependent upon corporate capitalism, any attempt—however sincere—that it makes to help solve this country's social problems will necessarily overlook whole areas where likely solutions lie.

Second City Government

As it takes an increasingly ambitious role in New Haven, Yale begins to act more and more like a second city government. No longer relying on the Lee administration to keep the surrounding community quiet and attractive, the university has taken on tasks—employing the discontented, funding projects, sponsoring groups—that municipal governments also perform.

Kingman Brewster even hints that official Yale partnership in New Haven's governance is not impossible: "If we can contribute to the trusteeship and various levels of administrative oversight of Yale-New Haven Hospital, there is no reason in theory, why we could not contribute to the directorship of a Yale-New Haven Development, Housing, or Education Corporation."

LETTERS

Friends,

Regarding Peter Rose's article **On Marches and Coalitions** appearing in the Feb. 1 **Newsletter.**

Peter fails to realize some of the absolutely *disastrous* results of liberal-radical planned and executed anti-war "actions."

Does Peter remember what happened on April 27, 1968? That day, a crowd estimated to be near 200,000 gathered in New York's Central Park for an anti-war rally. It was planned by several coalitions, most outstanding of which were the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee and the Student Mobilization Committee, both of which include extremely diverse tendencies—from Trotskyist to Pacifist to "Reform" Democrat.

This rally was one of the greatest and most obvious exhibitions of hypocrisy ever to be presented. New York's Mayor Lindsay was a featured speaker at the rally. Do you recall that just hours before Lindsay spoke "peace" to the Central Park crowd, he attended a right-wing "Loyalty Day" Parade? The very same day that Lindsay addressed this "peace" rally, his cops beat some *real* protestors (anti-imperialists) in Washingotn Square Park. Remember "peace-loving" Lindsay's fascist "emergency laws?" His cops at Columbia U?

Liberal-radical coalitions have achieved one major thing—obscuring the *real* issues behind war (capitalism, imperialism) in order to attract larger crowds. (Should the success of an action be measured by the number of attendants?)

We have had our necessary "massive" anti-war actions. They are no longer necessary, meaningful or practical. They have achieved little. What is needed now is a *militant, radical* movement that can lay bare to the American people the cause of wars—the capitalist system. It is quite obvious to me that a liberal-radical coalition is not only incapable of forming such a movement, but that it will also be a major roadblock to that formation.

In struggle,

Richard L. Adams

To the Editors:

After reading Peter Rose's **On Marches and Coalitions** in the **AIM Newsletter** of February 1, I would like to make the following suggestions:

1. AIM should seek a place on the co-ordinating committee of the National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam.

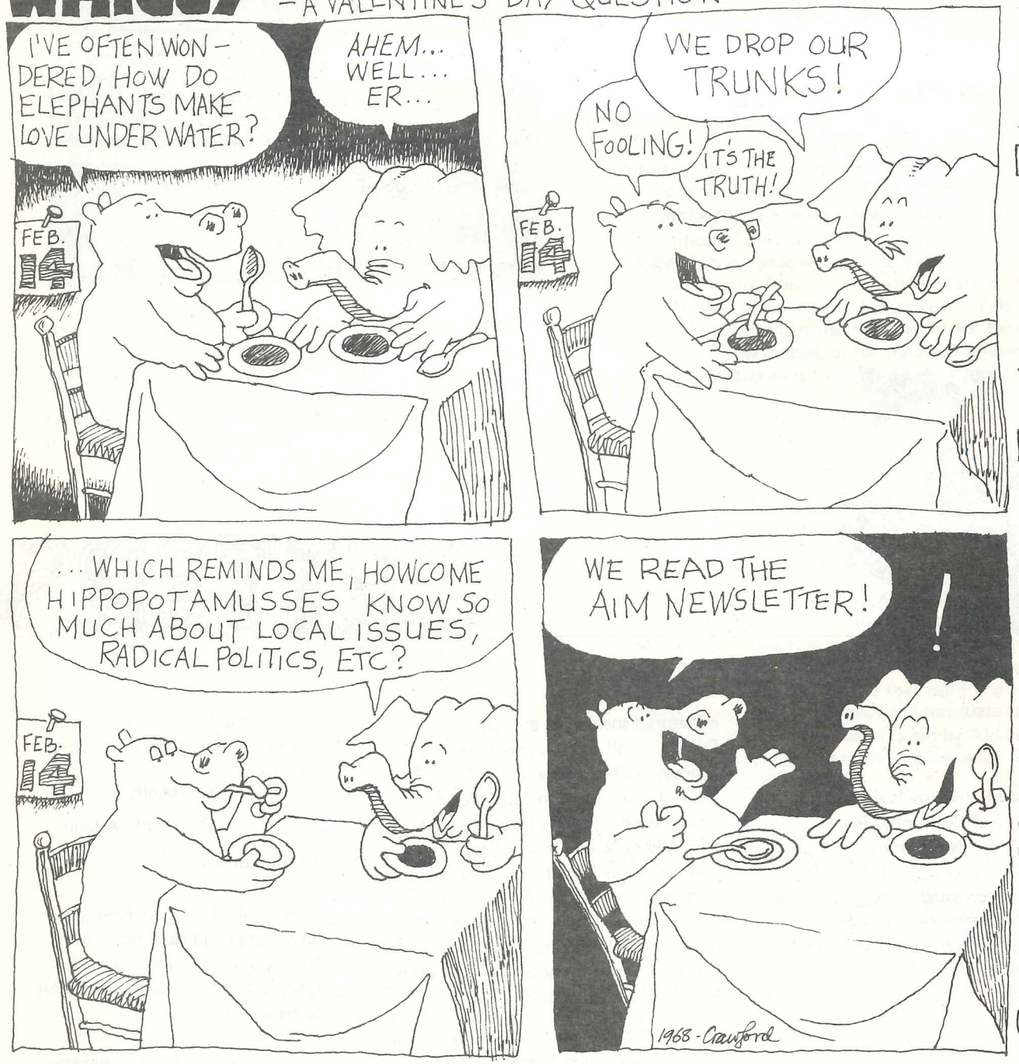
2. AIM should endeavor to have Bob Cook or other of its members speak at national mobilizations.

3. AIM should have literature tables at all national mobilizations.

4. AIM members should organize workshops at all national mobilizations having workshops.

Peter J. O'Connell

WHiGGY – A VALENTINE'S DAY QUESTION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